All India Oriental Conference
Centenary Celebration Publication Series - **31**

THE TEXT OF THE SAKUNTALĀ

A Paper read at the First Oriental Confernce, Poona, 1919
(Reprint)

by
B. K. THAKORE

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Prof. Srinivasa Varkhedi
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Prof. Madhusudan Penna
Director, Research & Publication

राष्ट्रहिताय संस्कृतम्

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PREFACE

It is indeed a matter of great pleasure and pride for Kavikulaguru Kalidas Sanskrit University, Ramtek to have this rarest opportunity of hosting the 50th session of All India Oriental Conference at Nagpur. This **AIOC-50th session at Nagpur** will be forever remembered by all as the year 2019 also happens to be the year of Centenary Celebration of AIOC. The premier objective with which the great scholars of yester years had contemplated and established this national academic event called All India Oriental Conference has been achieved through these years with scores of young scholars contributing significantly to the treasure house of knowledge through their valuable research work.

The research of yore and of the present should be properly recorded so as to make it easily available to all lovers of knowledge and wisdom in the years to come. With this objective, we have contemplated to commemorate the 100th year of this grand event of 50th session of AIOC by way of publishing 100 monographs on different subjects in four languages viz., Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi and English. It is no doubt a herculean task but still worth of it, for the reason that these 100 monographs will inspire many young scholars to take upon a fresh study and research of the oriental subjects with more vigour and zeal.

The **AIOC Centenary Publication Series** includes wide variety of subjects like Literature, Language, Veda, Indian Philosophy, Sanskrit Grammar, Law, Children Literature, Yoga, Astronomy and Astrology, Ayurveda, Pali, Prakrit, Jain, Buddhism, Education, Library Science, Poetics, Aesthetics, and Indology. It also includes reprint of some rare texts of academic importance which have gone out of print are not easily available. We wish to mark this centenary celebrations with this series that connects the glory of the past and

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aspirations of future. I place on record my sincere gratitude to all the authors of these monographs who have kindly contributed to the richness of this series.

I am confident that the books published in these series will definitely inspire the lovers of Oriental Learning in general and of Sanskrit Language and Literature in particular.

On this occasion, we have published a memorable book of all the speeches of Section-Presidents of all previous sessions of AIOC. It is indeed a very capacious addition to any collection. I with all respect thank two eminent scholars of our times - Prof. Gautam Patel, President and Prof. Saroja Bhate, General Secretary, the torch bearers of AIOC who have not only encouraged us in this venture but also made all efforts to provide these valuable historical speeches for us. I thank all executive members of AIOC and my colleagues of the varsity for making this event a grand success. My words fall short in describing the painstaking efforts and scholarly commitment of my esteemed colleague Prof. Madhusudan Penna, local secretary of this session in bringing out this series.

I also take this opportunity to profusely thank Shri. Subhash Jain and Shri Dipak Jain, the proprietors of New Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi for their enthusiastic approach and timely work with all precision and grace.

Let us all sanctify ourselves in the eternal flow of wisdom by reading these books and recommending these to others also!

सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम्

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10th January 2020 Vice Chancellor, KKSU

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अथ

THE TEXT OF THE SAKUNTALĀ

A Paper read at the First Oriental
Conference, Poona, 1919
Thakora, BalavantarayaKalyanaraya, 1869-1952.

BY

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PREFACE

It is on the advice of several scholars of ripe judgment for whose favourable estimate of this humble Paper I cannot be sufficiently grateful, that I am bringing it out as a booklet, although well aware that there is as yet no market in backward India for a publication of this -character.

I have been asked to prepare an edition of the Sakuntalā on the lines here indicated. And I have been urged to follow up this Paper by a series of studies on the Sakuntalā itself and on other Sanskrit classics, mainly devoted to aesthetic criticism and appreciation. In so far as such friendly suggestions form an objective recognition of what little one may have been able to achieve, it is idle to pretend that they do not encourage one to redoubled application along the same lines. But even a student has other calls, and when one or more of these press forward to commandeer all his time and energy in the sacred name of DUTY, his other interests however genuine, get labeled as mere hobbies, and have to be content with such short commons as can be spared. Or snatched for them.

Narayan Peth,
Poona City:
31-I-1922.

B. K. T.

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SECTION 1.

Our Ms, authorities (chronologically arranged list of the oldest-n.2) for this play are comparatively modern. They fall into four or at least three families. They yield three or at least two versions, the differences between which are numerous and important. But the Sakuntalā.a play that belongs to world literature. As the world progresses in culture, the number of nonSanskritists studying it as the best product of the Ancient Indian Drama on the increase, and Kálidása a dramatist of perfect art and transcendent genius. Cultured humanity cannot tolerate three divergent Sakuntalās or even two. Nor is it necessary. This Paper attempts to show that in many cases we can select out of the divergencies that reading and that arrangement of speeches which in the light of dramatic criticism is demonstrably the best. And Kālidasa being Kālidāsa, we infer that to have been what he wrote, at least until good manuscripts of the play of the tenth century or older are found.

SECTION 2.

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SECTION 3.

The Devanāgari version of the concluding scene of Act III shown to be the best. The Bengali and Kāśmiri versions of this passage besides their great inferiority in taste and in sense of dramatic structure have two serious flaws. These versions are, however, probably as old as the roth or with century, and mere textual criticism cannot help us to go behind them until we are so exceptionally lucky as to find a good Sakuntalā manuscript or manuscripts older still (n.7). The dramatic structure of Act III considered.

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SECTION 5.

How contractions in the text arise; their character would be necessarily determined by the ideas of the period in which they arise with regard to structural development and balance and the

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relative importance of persons and incidents. That so little of the Sakuntalā has suffered thus, a conclusive testimony to its perfect craft and early popularity.Kālidāsa's precise geography, Lapse of time or interval between scenes, dramatic and actual, distinguished. Time analysis of the play upto beginning of Act IV.The रस analysis of the play.Some of the beauties of Act V (n.24). The activities of Dushyanta so fashioned by the poet from the beginning of the play up to the end of Act III as to discipline and purify his body and mind to the highest point, For one main aim of the poet, to show the conditions most favourable to the birth and upbringing of a cakravarti. Time analysis of the rest of the play (n.27). The action in Act III further analysed. Another illustration of the difficulties of internal criticism.

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CORRECTIONS.

PAGE 42 LINES 546

Read :-Let me develop a little the state
ment I have just made about the moral or sentiment....

PAGE 77 LINE 17

Add :—See also Note 15 post.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this humble Paper to those
for whom it has been written, -viz.,
to Lovers of the Art of Kālidāsa all over the world.

January 31st, 1922.

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THE TEXT

OF THE

ŚAKUNTALA

SECTION 1.

It is well known that the Devanāgarī text of the Sakuntalā differs considerably from the Bengali, that the Kāśmīrī text resembles the latter while presenting peculiarities of its own, and that the Southern texts and commentaries although closely resembling the Devanāgarī, have also certain very useful variants, which modern editors have taken advantage of more or less freely, but in an unsystematic way.' The decisive fact with regard to the whole question is, that no manuscript of the Sakuntalā, text or commentary, is known to us older than the 16th century.? It follows that the date of the original composition and the dates of our oldest manuscripts are in this case separated by a gap of centuries, and it is the obvious duty of scholarship to construct a definitive text of the play by a free comparison of all our materials. It is no doubt necessary to work back to the oldest

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Devanāgarī text, the oldest Bengali text, and the oldest Southern text. But the task of competent scholarship does not appear to me to end here. These, in my humble' opinion, are merely preliminaries. They have of course to be done thoroughly, with a strict adherence to authority, and a scrupulous and exhaustive collation of manuscripts and commentaries. But having settled the oldest and most reliable Devanāgarī, Bengali, Kāśmīrī and Southern texts, we have to advance higher, and attempt to construct a Śakuntalā out of these divergencies, which the deliberate consensus of competent students would gradually accept as the final text of the play, a text combining all that is best in all the variants and more authoritative than any of them in being demonstrably the best. It is plain that having exhausted the resources of merely textual criticism in settling each of the principal variants, the only way in which we can attempt this further advånce is by .having recourse to a criticism of a higher order. The organic structure of the play as a whole, the precise function of each 'Act, the nature of each character, the end and aim of each incident in the entire plot, the light and shade which earlier and later parts se flect upon one another, the harmonious movement of passion and sentiment, the moulded flow of dramatic effect continuously fresh yet perpetually varied, the clash of character, the onset of fate, the nobility of ideal manhood and womanhood set in the most prominent, the most romantic, the most unexpected surroundings, the flawless union and commingling of hearts perfected through unmerited suffering

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borne with exemplary nobility and patience, the Providential Order of a world in which the aborginal miraculous of the crude tradition is transformed by the loving hand of genius into natural occurrences, which, unintelligible at the moment, are later seen to be the most : appropriate incidents through which the perfect foresight of Beneficient Righteousness works steadily and lawfully to a consummation designed to lift up an entire region of humanity on to a higher level:-. these are the considerations which ought to enable us, if only we have the insight to apply them, to distinguish clearly between the variants, and choose from amongst them the one that is demonstrably the best. I admit at once that what I thus advocate amounts to this, that we should judge between the various texts by the light of internal criticism. I admit also that as a general rule aesthetic tastes differ, and internal criticism is a most elusive guide. It is apt to raise more questions than it solves, to create differences of opinion rather than to reduce them. In this paper itself I shall have to point out concrete illustrations of the difficulties inseparable from the method I am advocating. But, on the other hand, I contend that the case of whose artistic instincts do not rise up in stormy rebellion against the stubborn fact that there are two divergent texts, if not three, which our manuscripts yield ; or those who, while ready to select the best readings and passages out of one and the same family of manuscripts, are nonplussed when confronted with several families : or those, again, who do not see in the lateness of all our manuscripts any reason why we should

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go behind them, will find little to attract them in my method. I have every respect for their orthodoxy, and all I can say for my own procedure is that Sakuntalā is a uniquework and Kālidāsa an incomparable artist.

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SECTION 2.

The number of divergences is, however, large, and some of them cover entire scenes. I begin with the most important of them all, the opening scene of Act V. 'Here, in the passage from the beginning of the Act upto the stage direction, "Enter Munis with Gautami Sakuntalā a little in advance, and the Kañcuki and the Purohita as their guides," in the Devanāgarī version there are twenty-five speeches including nine verses, whereas in the Bengali there are twentysix speeches, including ten verses. The extra speech is the Vidūshaka'sगोविंदारअ०, the additional verse is the Kañcuki's क्षणात्प्रबोध्, and to a superficial view there are no other differences of moment. If we write out the two versions, however, in parallel columns, the arrangement of the speeches in the two versions is at once perceived to be the principal divergence between them. Our problem, then, is—which of the two is dramatically the more appropriate arrangement ? Upon a close examination there can, in my humble opinion, be no doubt whatever, that the Devanāgarī arrangement is incomparably superior. It would take up too much space to set out the whole argument in full. A brief indication of the principal points will, however, sufficiently bring out the superiority.

(1) The continuity with Act IV.
In the Bengali version the Act begins with the Kañcuki, who enters with the object of announcing to the King that a party

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have arrived from Kanva's Hermitage. This is merely physical or incidental continuity. In the Devanāgarī version the Act begins with Hansapadikā's song. This is a continuity subtler and higher. The fact that the King has totally forgotten is at once presented to the audience in an unexpected but convincingly beautiful way. The song becomes charged with far more definite meaning in the Devanāgarī arrangement. The audience see at once that the "mangoblossom,"—which to the singer, as also to the apprehension of the forgetful King, is the singer herself, once loved and now neglected, is in reality Sakuntalā.

(2) The listless King on the stage. This is essential to the Devanāgari arrangement. At the same time, the posture and facial expression appropriate to the occasion would necessitate for the part of the King an actor of rare qualifications, and no human actor could maintain them effectively for long, nor could any audience long remain in spellbound sympathy with him. Hence in the Devanāgarī arrangement we have the Kañcuki's speech shortened as much as possible. The mechanical view, however, would be that the King on the stage, doing nothing, saying nothing, is an unpardonable flaw; no circumstances whatever can justify it. This is the eternal opposition between genius on the one hand and rule of thumb on the other. The Bengali arrangement of the passage is the result of rule of

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thumb ideas“, avoiding the supposed flaw even at the cost of degrading the passage as a whole and every part of it to a lower level of dramatic beauty. The **रम्याणि वीक्ष्य** verse, beautiful as poetry and profoundly true as psychology in any case, loses half its dramatic effect without a few moments of listlessness following it. And when the King emerges presently out of this indefinable state, half thought, half sorrow, half anxiety for having lost something precious he knows not what, he naturally emerges into a consciousness of utter weariness, which he as naturally supposes to be due to his constant and heavy burden of cares of state. The Kañcuki delivers his message and the King starts to meet this fresh call of duty; merely as a matter of habit and routine. Then as he is going to the Agnisarana and gives voice to his weariness, the Vaitālika verses, gently fanning his depressed mood with appropriate music, remind him of the beneficent nature of his tasks, and the sense of weariness is lifted. In the Bengali version the King's depression has nothing to precede it, and is merely the feeling of fatigue natural to this hour of the day, nor are the Vaitālika verses charged with any psychological timeliness, special though accidental. In the Bengali version they are merely the paid singers' routine task to mark the end of the second prahara and the beginning of the next. So the Vidūshaka's jest at the King feeling buoyed up by such humdrum sentiment is quite appropriate there, and the whole scene sinks into a mere web of ingenious

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fancy, communicating its flatness even to the Hansapadikā song and the I T aiz verse, which, in this version, succeed the Vaitālika stanzas.

(3) In the Bengali arrangement the Sakuntalāparty are represented as there from the first, and are kept waiting. This is a breach of propriety. The Bengali rearrangers overlooked this or thought it negligible. But note how Kanva, Durvāsas, and Māricha are painted in a halo of divinity throughout the play, consider the depth and quality of Dushyanta's consistently reverential behaviour towards them, and no doubt whatever can linger that Kālidāsa could not have left any such impropriety to remain, however slight. The KāśmĪrĪ version of this passage suffers from the same defects as the Bengali, although its transposition of the Hansapadikā and Vaitālika passages is a slight improvement.

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SECTION 3.

Let us next look at the conclusion of Act III: From उभे-णिव्वुदम्ह to the end, the Devanāgarī version has twenty-four speeches (Sakuntalā-nine speeches; the King-eight, including six verses ;Sakuntalā's friends--three; Gautami—two; one speech--nepathye ; and one including a verse—akase). In the Bengali version this passage is more than thrice this length. The king has at least twenty-seven speeches including seventeen verses, and Sakuntalā has thirty speeches assigned to her. It is not easy to employ measured terms in comparing the two versions. The Devanāgarī presentation and development of the situation is a noble masterpiece of reserve and taste. Nothing is wanting, not a word is out of place, there is not a single touch too many. The contrast between the slow pace of the action from the beginning of the Act up to page Face and the brisker movement in this concluding portion is also a structural beauty essential to dramatic art. The celebration of the Gāndharva marriage in a manner appropriate to the atmosphere, the place, and the principal characters, is the event this Act has to present. That accomplished, the samblogasvingara touch has just to be added so as to harmonise with what has gone before and set it off. The Bengali version is altogether blind to this aspect of the matter, and, it is hardly too much to say, murders the Act in consequence. Moreover, turning to the tone of the interpolated matter, one

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cannot but feel as if it was written centuries after Kālidāsa, the product of a taste effeminate and oversubtle, prone to linger unduly over a situation, fancying perhaps that that was the way to intensify the dramatic effect. The verses too, appear inferior.?

In the Kāśmiri text this passage differs only slightly from the Bengali. Two points may be noted.

(1) The King's reply to Sakuntalā's question when he would release her
यदासुरतज्ञोभविष्यानि

and his repetition of the same ":
ततोमोक्ष्यामि.

This is to be found only in this version. It is a violation of good taste quite as indefensible as another to be found in this passage in both the Bengali and Kāśmiri versions, viz., Priyamvadā's speech a little earlier (सोपहास) ण एत्तिकेण उण तुट्ठी भविस्सदि.
(2) The speech announcing Gautami's approach is open to an objection in both these versions. In the Devanāgarī, Anasūyā and Priyamvadā reappear immediately after the nepathya speech and with Gautamī, as showing to her the way to the bower. The obvious inference the audience draw is that they must have lingered out of sight and hearing, but still close to the bower, to protect the privacy of the lovers. Thus the nepathya speech becomes at once assignable to them, and it is as under their voice

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and the fact of their return as it is the sense of the anyokti speech itself, which enable Sakuntalā to interpret it. But in these other versions, the two friends disappear altogether for the rest of the Act, when they leave Sakuntalā alone with Dushyanta. To whom then are we to assign, this nepathya speech? We must assume that there was some fifth person also in the secret—which is absurd. This may appear a very small criticism to make, but not to those who have grasped the peculiar nature of dramatic art. Every detail in a drama must be concretely related to the stage and imaginatively visualised as it would appear to the audience. And my contention is that it is as a drama that the Sakuntalā stands supreme in the Sanskrit language. The only other Sanskrit play the author of which reveals a concrete dramatic imagination equal to Kālidāsa's though not superior, is the Mricchakatika.

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SECTION 4.

Lingering over a situation altogether oblivious of all questions of dramatic construction and propriety, is the defect the above passage exhibits to intolerable excess. This defect, in a milder form, is, however, far more usual, with reference to such shorter and smaller matters as an incident, a description, a sentiment, a thought, or a figure of speech. And thus arise repetitions, reduplications, redundancies, and embroideries of various kinds". Slight alterations are made here and there, a word or words a sentence or a verse are interpolated, one or more speeches, generally short, are inserted, pieces of dialogue are recast or fitted in, new incidents and even new characters are created. The inotive in any case need not be other than to show the author's idea at its best, to make it clearer. more impressive, more picturesque. more beautiful. But where it is the finished product of a genius like Kālidāsa upon which such arts are exercised, the result is rarely felicitous. The main reason why these decorators fail, why all such decorative efforts must fail in a case like the Sakuntalā, is that their grasp of dramatic economy, plot structure, and emotional intensity and reserve is mediocre.

To illustrate. $

4 (1) In Act VI in one of our versions the King only glances at his minister's memorandum and says aloud the substance of it. The other versions make him read it out at length. If both are

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equally well worded, what does it matter, one might ask, whether we accept the substance or the entire statement ? Well, the whole point is that in a play on the stage, it does matter, sometimes only slightly, it is true, but still appreciably, and sometimes decisively. It all depends upon the particular character, the particular mood, the particular incident, the point at which we happen to be in a rise or fall of emotion, the place the incident fills in the general scheme of entanglement and disentanglement, and whether the movement is towards the surge and clash of passion or the repose of peace. 4 (2) In Act I the Bengali version brings in two creepers instead of one, the second creeper is described as flowering out of its due season, and with this miraculous or unusual occurrence is coupled a prophesy, that it will presage an early date for Sakuntalā's nuptials. As soon as this point is reached, however, the dramatic critic begins to see light. Kālidāsa does employ prophesy as a legitimate device in his repertory. The benediction of Vaikhānasa to Dushyanta is a prophesy (see in Act V the confident reliance upon it, or upon similar carlier prophesies, by the Purohita, and his offer based thereon of his own house as a shelter for Sakuntalā). And the logician might very well argue that since Dushyanta had the benefit of that, another prediction, suitably varied, was equally legitimate with Sakuntalā for auditor, that in fact it was indispensable to give a rounded completeness to the theme. The logician might go further still, and reflect that Dushyanta earned

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the benediction by that noble deed of his,-he, a hunter, allowed the spotted antelope although overtaken, to go off alive. Did not Sakuntalā need some similar noble deed, suitably varied, to her credit also ? Thus we see the secret creative process forging the whole of this passage including the speech—

सहि सउन्तले उदअं लाम्भअ एदे गिम्हआलकुसुमदाइणो अस्समरुक्खआ दाणिं अदिक्कन्तकुसुमसमए वि रुक्खए सिंचम्ह । तेण हिअणहिसंधिगरुओ (v. 1. दपुरवो in the Kāśmīrī) धम्मो भविस्सदि

But if we can thus be quite sure as to the genesis of this passage, we can have no hesitation whatever in rejecting it altogether. For the law of logical completeness and cogency is not necessarily the law of dramatic lucidity and artistic harmony.

4- (3) Let us look at this section of Act I once more but from a different point of view. From (नेपथ्ये) इदो सहिओ | to (सर्वा राजानं दृष्ट्वा किञ्चिदिव संभ्रान्ता:)

we have in the Devanāgarī version eight speeches assigned to the King, including seven verses; nor is he given more than one verse in any of the speeches. We may also note that the intervals between his speeches are marked by three other speeches on the first three occasions, by six other speeches on the next occasion, and by one, two, and one other speech respectively on the last three occasions, all assigned to the other characters present, viz., Sakuntalā, Anasūya, Priyamvadā, or both the

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friends together. Turn now to the Bengali version. Here we find the **सरसिजमनु** speech expanded by two other verses, one before (इदमपुहित्०) and one after (कठिनमपि०). The चलापां. Speech is also expanded by two other verses, one before (यतोयत: ०) and one after (लोला दृष्टि)11 Of course we reject these four verses as interpolations, along with such prose as clings to any of them, either preceding or following it. Our rejection is not on the poetical ground that in neither speech is any of these additional verses equal as poetry to the central verse, though that also is the case; but on the dramatic ground that the King is here so placed that brevity in speech is a sine qua non, that in each case the central verse gives all that the occasion requires, and does so with perfect beauty, and that whatever is superfluous Kālidāsa

could not possibly have written at a point where every superfluity, however slight, necessarily injures the dramatic effect of the scene. We have to notice one thing more before leaving this part of the play. In the preceding sub-section I have argued that the introduction of a second creeper into this scene is an interpolation. Those who feel doubtful about the cogency of the argument given there, should look at the matter once more from the point of view appropriate to the present illustration. This is a bi-focal scene. The King in hiding and Sakuntalā with her friends, are objects of equal interest to the audience. The speeches should be so alternated that neither centre of interest suffers by

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being kept waiting too long by the length and number of the speeches at the other point of interest. I have noted above that with regard to the King there is only one interval here of such a duration as six successive speeches by Sakuntalā and her friends. All these six speeches are retained in the Bengali version, and the Mādhavī creeper incident is added, at this very point, involving thirteen successive speeches between Sakuntalā and her friends. The duration of the interval is in consequence raised from six to nineteen speeches. 1? Is it not altogether impossible to believe that Kālidāsa could have composed the scene thus ? Lastly, the Bengali reconsstructor was bound after all this at least to alter the creeper from which the bee flew up to worry Sakuntalā. In the Bengali version it should have sprung out of the Mādhavi creeper. Its unscasonal blossoms must naturally have attracted to themselves all the rambling bees of the neighbourhood. But no. In the Bengali version also it is from the Navamālikā creeper that the bee ascends. And so we are forced to this further incongruity that as some time had elapsed after Sakuntalā had watered that creeper, the bee must have dallied at one or two other attractions by the way, before it finally saw and made up its mind to assail Śakuntalā.

4 (4) We have already considered the first half of Act V. In the remainder the King has two soliloquies assigned to him. In the second of these the Devānāgarī has only one verse—वसतेव० with

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an introductory sentence. The Bengali version has before this another verse- **न तिर्यग्**० inointroduced by the sentence **वनवासा**० The KāśmĪrĪ has only the last named prose and verse. An atmagata speech at this point has got to be as short as possible. And a mere description of Sakuntalā as she appeared at this moment, however poetically conceived, is out of place in a drama at this point, as delaying action by merely putting into words what the audience are intently observing themselves13. A few words just to show the penetrating and permanent impression made by Śakuntalā's wrath and anguish even on Dushyanta himself are indispensable, but that is all that the crisis either requires on the one hand or can stand on the other. The later descriptions by the King (Act VI इतःप्रत्यादेशात्० and Act VII मोहान्मया०) are as appropriate where they occur as they are beautiful. But that is no reason at all why there should be something on the same scale here also. I think we modern admirers of the play would gladly omit both the verses here if it was possible to do so. But the second, मय्येव०, is too strongly supported by our authorities for any one to venture to drop it. And we have also to remember that the ancient Sanskrit drama even at its best moved at a slower pace altogether, and was in its nature far more lyrical, poetical and descriptive throughout its course.

I may just add that the next speech following the second verse भद्रेप्रथितं. is also far better assigned to the Purohita as by IśvaracandraVidyāsāgara, than to the King14

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4 (5) Or look at the passage in Act VI from. **(नेपथ्ये) अब्बम्हण्णाम् to राजा (समन्ताद्विलोक्य) शून्यं खल्विदम्** In the Devanāgari version it consists of fifteen speeches (the King, seven speeches including one verse; the Pratīnārī, three; a Yavanī, one ; and nepathye four speeches including the verse by which Mātali aims at kindling the blood of the King to the point of righteous indignation). In the Bengali and Kāśmīrī versions the passage is nearly doubled and consists of thirty speeches. No detailed argument is necessary to decide between the two versions. At this stage of the sixth Act the longer version stands prima facie condemned by its length. Three of the additional speeches are due to a suggestion that the Vidūshaka may have been set upon by the Queen's maids, which is quite out of place, and indeed inconsistent with what has gone before (**प्रतोहरि- अह इं | पत्तह्त्थं मं देक्खिअ पडीणीउत्ता**) ," and the remaining twelve are due to the introduction of the Kañcuki into the scene, which is altogether gratuitous. The Pratīhāri had already been sent out only a little earlier to recall the Vidūshaka ; so that, as in the Devanāgarī version, she is the proper person to bring back news of him.

4 (6) The Kāśmīrī text stands alonein having a Praveśaka to Act VII. The main function of this extra scene is a dance. It is so brief that I may first give here a translation, although it is rather daring for me to make the attempt, for the scene is so puzzling

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that only a master hand can pronounce decisively as to the meaning at more than one point. One of the sentences is incomplete, the meanings I assign are doubtful at at least three places, (which I indicate by ? s), and the concluding verse I leave as it is, finding it altogether unintelligible. Dr. Burkhard himself notes that "Much in this Praveśaka is unclear (unklar) and indeed hardly restorable (wohlkaumherzustel-- len)."

Salutation to ŚrīGaṇeśa. (There enters **नाकलासिका** a dancing girl of Svarga).

DANCING Girl.-Nārada the Guru has, ordered—" In these very days will advance for killing danavas Dushyanta the doer of deeds pleasing to his god head Purandara, the Rajarshi who has ascended from the mortal world (for that very purpose); so just as (Indra) showing him all public honour and giving him leave (to set forth) starts him (on his campaign), thou shouldst in that ceremonial darbar itself) perform some Prekshanaka in the presence of the gods in honour of the auspicious occasion ; find thou out therefore another dancing girl and come to the Music-hall." Thus it is I am in search of a sister in the art. (Walking about and trying to catch sight of some one) But who is this holding up her varana from behind and coming hither, exulting and excited ? (Looking at her closely) Why, it is (my) dear friend Cūtamañjarī.

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Very well, I will go to the Guru with her. (Waits for her). (Enters the second dancing girl as described, exulting, almost ecstatic).

SECOND D.-0 the highly puissant RājarshiDushyanta ! (In scorn) 0 killed is that mighty dānava host of Durjaya16. (After a moment of reflection) Or Dush yanta alone (is rightly to be deemed mighty) who with a charioteer as his only second and shooting innumerable great and astonishing missiles, killed that Durjayadanava-host in a twinkling. (Dances)

FIRST D. -(Approaching) Friend Cūta mañjarī, thou art indeed excited!

SECOND D.-(Looking at her) Who? Is it Pārijātamañjari ? Friend, I will tell thee all ; but first I ask whereto art thou going ?

First D.- Friend, I will tell thee briefly. By the order of the Guru,- "show to-day some Prekshanaka entitled (?) Victory over dānavas' on this auspicious occasion in honour of Rājarshi Dushyanta,"—so I (now) we two to him.

SECOND D. —(Excitedly) The (proper) occasion for it has passed. This great King having already started (back) for the - mortal world, to whom is it to be shown?\

FIRST D.-(With a touch of doubt) Did he then leave, Mahendra's desires fulfilling, or without ?

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SECOND D.-Friend, listen. This very day he has started for the Earth at . daybreak, having seized as trophy (?) of victory all that survived of the life and wealth of the Durjaya-dānavas, as also the adoring hearts of the women of this heavenly region. This is the cause of my joy and yearning.

First D.- --Friend, most welcome is thy news. Let us sing and performa here what the Guru had ordered to be presented in the presence of this Puruline-Rājarshi.

SECOND D.-Or if it please thee better (?) let us dance to the song I have just been humming.

First D.-Very well, let us do that.

(Both sing together)

अविसअगमणं कञ्चण अण्णं च सराअं आलिं (?) महुसमओ। अण्णं कुणइ विसणं पाढलिएँ इमाएँ भूमीए ॥

(At the end they dance and withdraw)

A play on the stage is a rich and varied feast of all the fine arts. The Sakuntalā itself has appropriate occasions provided in it for a display of painting (Act VI the King's incomplete painting of the heroine and her friends), scultpure or the art of making lifelike figures and objects in precious wood or metal or stone (the King's and Indra's chariots, the various animals, birds, creepers, trees etc. mentioned in Act I, IV, VII and elsewhere,some of these may be actually brought on the stage or presented in pots, or may be

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merely screens or pictures, or they may be painted figures like the toy-peacock in Act VII), the jeweller and goldsmith's art (the King's ornaments, the miraculous ornaments presented to Sakuntalā by the sylvan nymphs18, above all, the Abhijnana or ring), and strange mechanical devices for ascent and descent almost bordering on the miraculous (Sānumati's descent and ascent, the King's descent from Svarga). And music and dancing are of course far more akin to the dramatist's principal medium of human acting, than any of these other arts. On a priori grounds then we have no reason whatever to question the authenticity of a scene with music and dance for its principal function. The beginning of Act VII is again the most appropriate place for such a relaxation. Moreover new developments and inventions could be here recommended as the inspirations of heavenly dancing girls. Nor is the scene in itself so clumsy, if we remember the limitations and conventions within which the dramatist had to fashion his creation in Ancient India. Indra on his throne in heaven with his court round him could not be presented by the Indian dramatist as a scene of mute figures, with only the dancing girls singing and dancing. Appropriata dialogue would also have to be provided, that is to say, such a Durhay would need an act to itself, and that would destroy the artistic unity and balance of the play altogether. Thus even a Kālidāsa might be forced to the device or pretext of a durbar that could not be held although it was thought of, because the course of events moved faster than had been anticipated.

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Nevertheless, I reject this scene without hesitation. It flatly contradicts the first three speeches of Act VII, which, in all the versions, including the Kāśmīrī, clearly state that a victory durbar was actually held, at which Indra showered unusual honours upon Dushyanta. A minor reason, which many students might well hold to be equally decisive, is that the verse at the end which is the soul of the scene is. hopelessly corrupt. The words as they stand defy all attempt at construing them into sense.

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SECTION 5.

In the passages so far dealt with I have decided in favour of the Devanāgarī version. I now turn to others in which that version appears to me to have unjustifiably contracted Kālidāsa's text. Our information about India during the period lying between Kālidāsa's generation and the ninth or tenth century is very meagre. But it is not at all unlikely that dramatic performances were far more frequent in some parts of India than in others. And I may hazard the guess that the Devanāgarī text is substantially the creation of that part of India in which during the period indicated, dramatic performances were frequent. For the Sakuntalā as it stands is obviously too long, and for any one who wants to perform it, the temptation to contract it is almost irresistible. Now, anyone who wanted to stage the Sakuntalā to-

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day, would find it easy to contract it. He would turn Acts II and VI into brief vishkambhaka or pravesaka scenes, and leave the rest of the Acts almost untouched. But this course could not possibly occur to the actors and dramatists of the period referred to. The only dramatic literature they knew was the Ancient Sanskrit Drama, and they accepted by training and by instinct its conventions and limitations. With their ideas of structural development and balance and also of the relative importance of persons and incidents, they would necessarily have judged these two

Acts just as indispensable as any of the others. Hence they attempted to omit and to shorten speeches throughout the play wherever they could do so without .injury to the original, or without leaving traces of their activity; and it is a testimony to the perfect craft of the original as also to its early popularity, that they could cut out so little of it. Of course I throw this out as a mere suggestion. I do not advance it as a theory or hypothesis. No theory or hypothesis ought to be advanced by a responsible student without some evidence in its favour. And the only evidence that could throw light on the point would be a manuscript or manuscripts only a few centuries later than Kālidāsa.

Let us look at the beginnings of (1) Act III, and (2) Act IV, and at (3) the King's entrance into the hermitage of Kanva in Act I. The three passages have this feature in common, that some dramatic time must elapse between what has gone before and what is to

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follow. They are transitional pauses between two actions or situations, which because of the sharp difference between them have to be separated by appreciable intervals, Such softening passages as they might be called, require no little skill art and invention to make them natural or appropriate. A good many people, however, are apt to be impatient with them, not having imagination enough to realise the shock or at least the feeling of abruptness that would be experienced, if these interludes were omitted or seriously curtailed, and the preceding and succeeding scenes brought too close to each other. With this general remark I will take up these passages in the reverse order.

$5 (1) Between the primeval forest, fit field for a royal hunt, and the Aśrama, Kālidāsa places a region which is neither the one nor the other, but a semi-wild debatable margin, at one end merging into the forest, and at the other into the hermitage. This, I take it, is the original and literal meaning of the word **उपवन** The bright light that plays upon the Sakuntalā throughout is in part the consequence of the extreme concreteness and precision with which Kālidāsa places before us the geography of the regions he is dealing with. In Act IV the nucleus region of the hermitage ends at the point from which the female deer, big with child, casts her glances of farewell at Sakuntalā, who is fast approaching the boundary of the Asrama. The boundary itself is indicated by the point beyond which the tame young deer to whom Sakuntalā has been a mother, wags in his mute way to prevent her from going.

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At that point begins the more uneven region of the **उपवन**. And at some distance in this marginal land is the irregular sheet of water (formed by a natural depression), where the party halts under a big shady tree, and Kanva gives his message to the King and his parting alvice and benedictions to his beloved child. Turn now to Act I. The hunted antelope belonged to the hermitage and so when pursued by the King took a bee-line to that place of safety. The king's horses .are exceptionally strong and fleet, and overtake him just as he is about to cross the edge of the forest and pass into the Upavana. But he is saved nevertheless by the intervention of Vaikhānasa and others, whose presence there at that hour of the day is perfectly natural, the spot being only a little inside the forest, When the ascetics leave the king, therefore, it is this edge of the forest that he crosses and passes at once into the Upavana. This Kālidāsa describes by two verses the first (**निवारा:**) referring to the part adjoining the forest, and the second (**कुल्याम्भो**) referring as clearly to the part immediately adjoining the hermitage. The second verse is not merely a description in other words of the same spot as is described by the first. And, as said above, an appreciable dramatic interval is here necessary. Monier Williams and Patankar have, therefore, done well in keeping both these verses, as in the Bengali and Kāśmīrī versions, although they generally follow the Devanāgarī text as settled by the commentator Rāghava Bhatta, who here rejects the second of the two I may also add, although it is a very small

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point, that the Kāśmiri arrangement in which the charioteer says his two words **सर्वमुपपन्न** -immediately after the first verse, and the chariot proceeds onwards, and then the King says his second verse and immediately after मातपोवन०, appears to me the best of all.

$5 (2) In the beginning of Act IV RāghavaBhatta is satisfied with two verses यास्येकतो. And अन्तर्हिते.. The Bengali and Kasmiri versions give two more कर्कन्धूनां० and पदन्यासं; the Bengali giving these as third and fourth, while the Kāśmiri gives them as first and second, placing the others third and fourth. How many of these four verses are we to keep and in what order? It is rather a nice point whether the dramatic interval required after the curse episode would be sufficiently provided by two verses, or more would be better. Perhaps no definite opinion is possible either way. But on making out a time analysis of the play, it clearly appears that what is here required is something more than a mere dramatic interval. For the day of the curse and the day of Sakuntalā's departure, though placed together in immediate succession by the poet, are really separated by an interval of several months. Kālidāsa places the curse on the very morning after Dushyanta's departure as indeed he was boundto do; when he had limited so strictly the period within which he makes his hero promise that Sakuntalā would be sent for. And he places the departure of Sakuntalā from the Asrama immediately on Kanva's

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return from pilgrimage. This also is absolutely the best decision for the poet, or, at any rate, if he had allowed any interval, he would also have had to account for it in some natural and proper manner. The reconstructions of plots by a dramatist of genius are always marked by the propriety and naturalness he bestows upon every incident, on every feature of time, place, order, manner, and other circumstances. Thus in the plot as

Kālidāsa has reconstructed it, there is an interval of several months between the end of the prelude to Act IV and the beginning of the Act 'itself. This also has got to be somehow marked in the very beginning of the Act, for the story has gone on from its commencement up to the end of the curse episode without a break. We begin in Caitra-end of Caitra or beginning of Vaiśākha-and have come down to the end or latter part of Jyeshtha. If we assume that Kanva would go on his pilgrimage and return from it making both the journeys at the same rate of speed, that he would start for it in good time to reach his destination before the rains began, and that he would start back for home soon after the rains, say on or immediately after the Vijayādaśami-a most natural set of assumptions to make ; since we know that he started when the rains were two months off, it follows that the return journey also occupied two months, so that he reached home again in Mārgaśīrsha. The interval between the end of the curse Vishkambhaka and the beginning of Act IV is therefore the interval from the end of Jyeshtha to the middle of

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MārgaśĪrsha. The seventh month of pregnancy is also nniversally regarded in India to be much safer for a pregnant woman to make a journey, than either the sixth or the eighth?1 It is the third verse (कर्कन्धूनां०) that gives the local touch. Those lovers of KālidāSa who realise that his primacy as a descriptive poet in Sanskrit literature is essentially connected with minute accuracy of detail imaginatively selected and rendered, will find even this single con-sideration decisive. Lastly, it is the fourth verse (पदन्यासं;) which gives the moral or the sentiment that fits the course of events beginning here and marching swiftly on to भगवति वसुधे देहि मे विवरम् in Act V. The moral of the first verse (यात्येकतो) is not so pointed and is far less appropriate. So even if it be advisable on any grounds beyond my ken to shorten the Sishya's speech, I would rather omit the first two of the verses than the last two. And it is the Bengali order of the verses that best marks the stages through which dawn passes into sunrise.

Let me also add one further argument in favour of the retention of the fourth verse. From the first moment Dushyanta and SakuntalĀ catch sight of each other, the love interest of the play begins and grows steadily and swiftly until they marry and Bharata the future Cakravarti is conceived. Love is the ruling sentiment (रस) of the first three Acts. In selecting for his arrows two such exalted beings as Dushyanta and SakuntalĀ the God of love "placed his foot. (पादन्यासं कुत्वा) ”upon the highest objects within his ken, and

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worked his will with them overcoming every obstacle. But having reached the zenith of his success and even passed beyond it (कांत), it is in the course of Nature or Inexorable Law that this excessive ascent (अत्यारूढिः) should, as if out of its own irresistible momentum, produce a precipitate fall. The god of Love is as a matter of fact deth roned for the rest of the play. The ruling sentiments of the remaining Acts are : Act IV—वात्सल्य with a touch of अद्भुत;

Act V– करुण with more of अद्भुत3;
Act Vl- करुण subordinated to अद्भुत; and

Act VII—अद्भुत and वात्सल्य, leading on to a consummation and a tranquillity beyond all ordinary human sentiments. This rise and fall in the play of the god of Love is what the verse suggests in the guise of a description of the rise and fall of Love's friend and the Lord of all art, the Moon. This argument is only for those who appreciate how strong is the convention in Sanskrit poetry of thus suggesting at appropriate points in a work of art, an inner meaning just radiating out of the ordinary every day sense of the words,—which therefore conceal more than half their propriety and beauty from readers whose perceptions come to a full stop at the obvious. Lastly, in Kālidāsa's reconstructed plot taken by itself the curse is the turning point. But in the play taken as an organic whole24, this curse, the instinctive reaction of a superman like Durvāsas, who is employed all unknown to himself as a tool by higher powers for higher ends, is like the

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rising of the sun in the world of nature, necessarily involving the setting of the moon. The purely mundane force of emotional attraction or love has served its purpose; the play marches onward into the broad daylight of higher motives. $ 5 (3) The shortest beginning of Act III is to be found in the southern version. The Devanagari has one verse more **अनिशमपि.** The lovesick hero in Sanskrit literature is, however, prone to loquacity rather than to reticence. Carlyle's dour commandment-"consume thy own smoke,"—is a view of manliness alien to ancient Hindu culture and psychology, in spite of its pronounced ascetic bent. The strict hours and single meal of the plainest and most sattvic fare, not too abundant in quantity, which the King shared with the sacrificers from the day he entered the hermitage as their guardian, would also favour intellectual activity and farfetched subtlety.

Nor does the dramatic situation require the least rapidity of movement. And the main end of the play being the representation of the circumstances most favourable to the conception, birth, and early upbringing of a cakravarti like Bharata, we have to assume that the King has steadily attended to his new and exacting duty for some time with singleminded devotion, so that the discipline and purification of his system begun by his hunting expedition have had time to be lifted on to a higher level. Sakuntalā's love-fever has also to be given sufficient time to reach the extreme point which we find delineated in this Act. The meeting of the

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lovers is therefore to be visualised as taking place on a day nearer the end than the beginning of the King's. stay at the hermitage. Thus we have every reason to prefer the longest version of this passage to all others, provided, of course, that there is no objection to the additional parts either in themselves or in the relative place assigned to any of them. Lastly, looking at the Act as an artistic whole, it falls into three sections; this is the initial section; the middle section begins with **अये लब्धं नेत्रनिर्वाणं**, and ends at **णिवुद्द म्ह्;** and from that point onwards to the end of the Act is the third section, Such movement or action as the Act deals with consists of •

(1)showing that the mutual attraction of the lovers has reached an intensity almost physically insupportable ;
(2) an immediate gandharva marriage as the inevitable consummation;
(3) and finally sambhoga sringara in that chaste and clevated key, which alone would harmonise with the place and the character of the lovers. An aesthetic balance between the three sections is essential, and this is to some indefinable extent also a matter of relative lengths, although, of course, every one knows that artistic proportion is quite different from arithmetical. Indeed, I have argued above in another connection that the third section must be short. Here my argument is that the first section must be longer than it is in

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the Southern and Devanāgarī versions. The Kāśmīrī version does not give the **संमिलन्ति** verse with its introductory sentence. It is, however, necessary both as enabling the King to select a particular direction, and because two verses mark the length of the way better than only one **(शक्यमर**). In fine, I would place the verses in the following order :-(1) **जाने, (**2) **अद्यपिनुनं** (3) **तव कुसुम** (4) **अनिष्,** (5) वृथैव, (6) सम्मिलन्ति, (7) शक्यमर , and (8) **अभ्युन्नता.** The southern version gives only Nos. I, 3, 7, and 8. Vidyāsāgara does the same, although he notes that one of his manuscripts gives all eight, and another the above four with Nos. 2 and 6 also. Rāghava Bhatta gives Nos. 1, 3, 4, 7 and 8. Burkhard and Cappeller give Nos. 1,2,3,7 and 8. Out of the eight I am not prepared to omit any except No. 5; and even for that I fail to see any clear ground for omission. Monier Williams accepts all eight, only he transposes Nos. 2 and 3, and he cites as his authorities "the Taylor and my own Bombay Devanāgari manuscripts supported by Sankara and Candrasekhara and all the Bengali manuscripts" (p. 102 note 1; see also p. 103 note 1). Lastly, S. Ray omits (2) and (5) and would like to omit (3) and (4) also; but his tests and standards are hardly the right ones to apply to the hearteasing divagations of a man love-sick and overstrained. However,

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that there should be such divergencies of judgment in connection with this passage, furnishes. an excellent illustration of the difficulties inherent in aesthetic or internal criticism.

$5 (4) One other Devanāgarī omission is, in my humble opinion, at least equally serious. In Act VI the nadir of the King's dejection is represented in the Devanagari by the verse **अस्मात्परं०**. In the Bengali and Kāśmīrī versions it goes to an abyss deeper still in the verse **आमूलशुध्धसंतति कुलमेतत्पौरवं प्रजावन्ध्ये । मय्यस्तमितमनार्ये देश इव सरस्वतीस्रोतः ॥ (इति मोहमुपगता)** Here Hartia has two senses, one applying to the case of the King's $, the other to the river Sarasvati, which left the surface and went underground the moment it reached un-Aryan lands. And there is the further meaning irresistibly suggested and therefore certainly present to the mind of the King. that # S IETE:, in the sense of the highest and purest culture, would also set in the kingdom ruled over by the Paurava family, that the Paurava land would sink back into an un-Aryan land, on his death without an heir capable of discharging the exalted duties of the kingly office in the time-honoured Paurava spirit. We do not know for certain when Kālidāsa flourished. But the Raghuvansa and the Mālavikāgnimitra are there to justify the assumption that our poet knew full

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well, perhaps even from bitter and indelible personal experience, how the moment a strong king was no more, anarchy would spread over a whole country, and culture and all its works disappear in a twinkling. The strength of Dushyanta's own sense of duty, the intensity of his devotion to it, and the high degree of efficiency he brought to its daily performance, are the measure of the shock that the thought of such a fatal catastrophe would give him ; especially as he now realised-years having elapsed"- that it was his own fault that he could now do nothing to avert it. This verse brings on moha much more properly than the last, although the Pitri-tushti motive was also of the strongest and most universal amongst the ancient Indo-Aryans. It seems to me, therefore, that this verse and the two intervening speeches are an integral part of the play as Kālidāsa wrote it. The second of these speeches--the cēṭī's

भट्टा अल संतापिदेण। वअत्यो ज्जेव पहू अवरासु देवासु अणुरूवपुत्तजम्मेण पुव्वपुरिसाणं अरिणो भविस्सदि । (आत्मगतं) ण मे वण पडिच्छदि भट्टा । अध वा अणुरूवं ज्जेव ओसधं आदटुं णिअत्तेदि।

might jar on modern ears. But it is vain to try to force Sakuntalā into our familiar mould of monogamous fidelity. Secondly, it is quite a natural and proper speech for a cēṭi.

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Thirdly, the poet has expressly added that the King did not hear these words. Shakespeare intent upon svabhavokti (naturalness in speech) as all dramatists must be, commits what to our ear-more refined in this respect than that of his contemporaries-are sins of taste far grosser than this, in innumerable passages.

$ 5 (5) One more Devanāgarī omission briefer than any that has gone before. After the King suddenly presents himself and replies on the spot to Sakuntalā's message of love in the last extremity of longing (Act III), the Bengali version proceeds

सख्यौ०-(विलोक्य सहर्ष मुत्थाय) साअदं जघास मीहिंद फलस्स अविलाम्बणो मणोरधस्स । (शकुन्तला उत्थातु मिच्छति)
राजा- मुन्दरि, अलमल मायासेन । संदष्ट.32
शक०-(ससाध्वस मात्मगतं) हिअअ, तधा स्तम्मिम दाणि ण किंपि पडिवज्जसि ।20 ।
अन०-इदो सिलादलेकदेसं अनुगेण्हदु महाराओ । 30
(शकुन्तला किञ्चिद पसरति)
राजा-(उपविश्य) प्रियंवदे, काश्च सखी वो नातिबाधतेशरिरतप: प्रियं;- (सस्मितं)लब्धोस्धो संपदं उपसमं गमि स्सदि । महाभाअ, दोण्हं पि वो। सहीसिणेहो।०

Here, to begin with, the Devanāgarī and Southern versions omit Sakuntalā's soliloquy, so that in these versions the first

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words she utters after the King's appearance are **हला किं अन्तेउराविरह०**. The central figure of the scene says not a word while the other persons exchange ten speeches. She says nothing even when the King addresses her direct. The Indian stage must from the very beginning have had strict conventions of maidenly modesty, conventions reflecting the immemorial customs of the respectable classes of society. But a soliloquy or a remark aside to her friends is frequent, as we see earlier in this play itself (Act I) and in other Sanskrit plays, and complete silence for such an interval, and at this stage of her feelings, is hardly natural. The omission of the soliloquy in the Devanāgarī and Southern versions is thus a serious blemish, although it may appear a mere trifle to superficial observers. The Kāša mīrī version, it may be added, places the almagata remark before the King's To And in the first sentence of Priyamvadā's speech in the above quotation it adds the word 1959, and follows it up with a janantika remark by Anasāyā. But neither of these little changes is an improvement. Lastly, the King addressing Priyamvadā direct, because, as the Kâsmīrī version indicates by a stage direction, Priyamvadā is sitting side by side with Sakuntalā, so that Anasāyā and the King are sitting near her feet on each side of her,-is the reason why, as the scene proceeds, Priyamvadā becomes the principal speaker for the next few speeches. The Devanāgarī version omitting the stage direction, the King's query as to Sakuntalā and

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Priyamvadā's reply (first sentence), ought at least to have, like the Southern version, made the further change of taking away from Priyamvadā the incidental role of principal speaker for the next few speeches33,

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SECTION 6.

In this final section I shall bring together, with a minimum of comment or argument; a few of the more important of the minor emendations likely to occur to students who accept my method of using all the materials available with perfect freedom. :. $6 (1) In Act I after the King gives his signet ring and the friends jump to the natural conclusion that their visitor is Dushyanta himself, the King still makes. an attempt to say something not altogether inconsistent with his former statement. His motive at this moment also is the same as when he came up, deliberately divesting himself of all marks of royalty in his dress, viz., to prevent as far as possible the springing up between him and the maidens of that þarrier of stiff formality which would be the inevitable result, as soon as they knew him to be so exalted a personage as King Dushyanta. The author's dramatic motive here is only a little to prolong the situation in order that the Act could be rounded off instead, of ending abruptly.. In the Devanāgari his speech is

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अलमस्मानन्यथा संभाव्य । राज्ञः परिग्रहो.. (v:.1.. Monier Williams following Sankara प्रतिग्रहो.) ऽयामिति राजपुरुषं मामवगच्छथ। ..

But it is not at all necessary that the King' should commit himself to the positive mistatement of these last words, and the Bengali, Kāśmīrī and Southern readings agree in omitting them. These are :-) **अलमन्यथा संभावनया (v. 1. Southernoथा संभाव्य Kasmiri मस्माकम...भावितन) राज्ञः प्रतिग्रहो (v. 1. Kasmiri and Southern परिग्रहो) ऽयं।**

Pātankar, Ray and Cappellar adopt=

अलमस्मानन्यथा संभाव्य । राज्ञः परिग्रहो (प्रतिग्रहो) ऽयम्।

Parigraha or Pratigraha makes no difference, both words meaning "a present." The commentators' ingenious attempts to make **राज्ञः, राजपुरुषं,** and **परि (or प्रति) ग्रह** yield two senses are hardly necessary. The impersonal first sentence and the second sentence without the last four words are quite sufficient.

$6 (2) The first verse in Act II. Rāghava Bhatta reads **अनायन** as the last word of the first half. Pischel, Krishnanātha, Burkhard, Abhirama, Monier Williams following Kātayavema, Pātankar, S. Ray and Cappeller read **आश्वासि** nstead. And all of them read **तम्भावदर्षन.** Pischel however notes that his manuscript R.-.e. India Office No.

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1491–has **भावि a instead of भावि.** And it does seem to me-whatever the orthodox scholar may think of it--**that**

कामं प्रिया न सुलभा मनस्तु तदाधिदर्शनायासि । अकृतार्थे ऽपि मनसिजे रातिमुभयप्रार्थना कुरुते ॥

not only gives the simplest reading, har monising in the most direct sense with the context, but also strikes at once the keynote of the Act, the King's longing somehow to bring about a very early meeting with Sakuntalā. All the learned objections of the commentators including Patankar to भावदर्शनायासि become irrelevant the moment a is changed to fa

6 (3) Anasāyā's first speech in Act IV. For the first sentence we have three alternatives to choose from: (a) In the Rāghava Bhatta reading a has to be taken to mean **विषयिजनवृत्तं**-see besides Rāghava - Bhatta's, Abhirāma, Vidyāsāgara and S. Ray's commentaries, and Kālē's notes. Some condensation is natural in the hurried speech so frequent in a play. But condensation amounting to obscurity is hardly to be found in Kālidāsa. (6) For 7 afcri in the above reading the Bengali has **निपतितं** (Pischel) or **न निपतित** (Krishnanātha). Without the negative, the TT would merely indicate manner or kind; with the negative it also emphasizes the degree of **अनायन**

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(c) Thirdly, we have the composite readings of Monier Williams and Pātankar, made up by piecing together parts from more than one family of manuscripts. Monier Williams' based upon the Mackenzie manuscript, Kātayavema and India Office No. 1060, is the best, which I therefore give, adding only for which several of our authorities have to make it slightly clearer—

:एवं णाम विसअपरंमुहस्स वि इमस्स जणस्स ण एवं ण विदरं जधा तेण रण्णा सउन्दलाए अणज्ज आ. अरिदं त्ति ।

86 (4) Anasuya's second speech in Act IV. The Kāśmīrī version offers the best variant :--

अध वा दुक्खसीले तवस्सिअणे को अन्भत्थीअदु । ण सहिगमणेण टोसो त्ति ववसिदं । दाणिं पारम्ह । पहासणिव्वुत्तस्स तादकस्सवस्स दुस्सन्तपरिणीदं आवण्णसत्तं को वि सउन्तलं णिवेदइस्सदि।

The speaker's feeling of pain, sorrow and helplessness is much lighter here than in the other versions. The conti nuity with the curse Vishkambhaka is. unnecessary, as a sufficient dramatic interval has been provided by the four verses of the Sishya ; and continuity with the tone of what immediately follows is. the more important consideration. Thiss to my mind, is therefore the best version of the concluding portion of the speech, with the small exception that I prefer the

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Devanāgarī 9918 to the Ter here. That THAT! (Act I) was Prabhāsa even in our Author's days is very likely. But we cannot be quite certain about it, until Kālidāsa's date can be fixed more precisely. And this is as good a point as any in this essay for me to add a word, marking the contrast between what orthodox scholars look down upon and stigmatise as merely internal criticism and their own. rigid processes of textual collation and emendation. The whole of the text and all that it implies both directly and indirectly have to be taken into consideration and not merely the particular passage which we are trying to settle. Moreover, the method as I am using it accepts the method of textual scholarship and research at its full value, treating it as an important and indeed indispensable subsidiary. But, of course, it questions and sometimes feels bound to reject the claim of this scholarship to have the last word; what is only a part can never hope to dictate to the larger broader based and aesthetically rounded organic whole of which it is a part or limb. Textual criticism is the eyesight of all criticism. But even the eye cannot hope to always dictate to the whole body and mind,

$6 (5) In Act V the Bengali

किं कृतकार्यद्वेषा धर्म प्रति विमुखतोचिता राज्ञः

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is also adopted by Vidyāsāgara, Monier Williams, Pātankar, and S. Ray. It is certainly better than the Southern

किं कृतकार्यद्वेषो धर्म प्रति विमुखता कृशावज्ञा।

or Rāghava Bhatta's

किं कृतकार्यद्वषो धर्म प्रति विमुखता कृतावज्ञा।

But the Kāśmīrī reading is Tot in regar o sa pagaar ts: 1 and if we are to accept Bohtlingk's suggestion (noted by Monier Williams) " that Sarah is probably an interpolation from the margin," the oldest Devànāgarī reading would be

किं कृतकार्यद्वेषो धर्म प्रति विमुखता राज्ञः।

and these last two readings are certainly superior to the others. And the singular number in the King's sudden question inclines one to prefer द्वेषात् to द्वषो.

6 (6) In the Praveśaka to Act VI as the Śyāla returns from his audience with the King the Bengali and Kāśmiri versions. have—

श्याल०-सिग्धं सिग्धं एदं (इत्य?के)
धिवरक्- हा हदे म्हि| (इति विषादं नात्यति) शयाल - मुच्चेध् रे

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which is a graphic touch true to the nature of the policeman of all ages and climes. But how many of our scholarly. bookworms can from the simple words above visualise the Syāla as he rushes out of the gate at the poor fisherman, a picture of instant death but with a twinkle in his eye as he pronounces threateningly the first three words at the top of his voice, but as soon as their effect is produced on the victim, stops his onrush close to him and finishes the sentence benignly with **मुच्छेदः ?** $6 (7) In Act VI in the Śārdūlavikrīdita verse in which the King describes . what additions he is going to make to his incomplete painting, the second line of the 'verse should have **चमर**, the Himālayan Yak, as in Pischel, Krishnanātha and Burkhard. The word **हरिन** has been substituted for it in the Devanāgarī and Southern versions by people who thought that the proper name of this special variety might be unknown to many of their readers or audience. 34 $6 (8) Going away with the picture (Act VI) the Vidūshaka says in the Bengali version...

जइ भवं.....मुच्छिसद्दि तदो मं महेच्छण्णप्पासादे सहावेसि । एदं च तहिं गावोमि जहिं पारावदं
उज्झिम ण को वि अज्यो पेक्खदि ।

The second sentence here, omitted in Devanāgarī and Southern versions35, is however very necessary to inform us

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quite clearly that the Vidūshaka was going to the highest storey of the King's loftiest palace. Act VI which has been adversely criticised by eminent scholars, repays, however, the closest study in structural economy and ingenuity. The King's dejection, the painting, the jealousy of the chief queen, statė business' brooking no delay, the still more urgent business of Indra, the Vidūshaka, Mātali, and Sānumatī are deftly woven together into a continuous thread of dialogue and minor incident, exciting sympathy in itself and indispensable to the rounding off of the play into a perfect whole. It also presents two cases of dramatic judgment or retribution, one taking the form of appropriate punishment, the other of deserved reward. (a) The momentary experience of mortal fear inflicted upon the Vidūshaka is not a mero whim, or a detail brought in simply because the providential or archetechitonic whim of the creator of the play required it to round off his work. It is the punishment morally his due for a specific failure in his duty as a friend towards the King. The Vidūshaka's own defence is “I took you at your word, my intellect being like a clod.” *The world of artistic drama is purer and subtler than the world of life. In 'the latter a confessed defect like that, more natural than voluntary; either escapes all punishment or is so severa ely handled as only to excite pity, But in the world of the drama even Nemesis acts more finely

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and equit ably. (b) Dushyanta's generous proclamation resigning the crown's legal rights to the property of the heirless, and his undera taking on behalf of the crown to help out of it the relatives of the deceased in the same way and to the same extent that the deceased himself would have helped them in his lifetime, would excite a spontaneous response of benediction from the heart of every one of his subjects,—" Whoever else died childless, may our noble king, at least, be spared that fate!" And in the world of the drama, at any rate, such a volume of deep and unanimous feeling can be represented as potent enough to bring about the desired result. The proclamation is the second turning-point in our play and the positive cause of what follows, the removal of the curse by the accidental recovery of the ring being only

the negative pre-condition, serving to clear the ground.

.$6 (9) After the King's proclamation in Act VI the Pratīhārī's report in the Bengali version is .

देव, काले पवुलु विअ सासणं अहिणन्दिदं महाजणेण देवस्स।

Now **महाजणेन.** here is a technical term, and it naturally dropped out of the text when during the centuries after Kālidāsa the political importance of popular representatives and institutions composed of them waned, but more quickly and completely in some parts of India than in others. The

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Kāśmīrī version also has **महाजणेन.** 30

$6 (10) After the King's swoon in Act VI, the speech of the apsaras is better in the Kāśmīrī version than in any of the others :

जण्णभाओस्सुआओ देवाओ य्येव तधा करइस्सन्ति जधा एसो राएसी ताए सहधम्मचारिणीए समागामिस्सदि। (नभो ऽवलोक्य सहर्षे) करइस्सन्ति कधं येव तहि पेक्खामि। जाव इमिणा वुत्तन्तेण०

It is but natural and proper that Mātali coming down to the King's palace, although invisible to all else, should be visible to her, and it is this that is suggested in this version and in this one alone.

$6 (11) And so we come to Act VII. When Mātali at the King's request stops at the hermitage of Mārīcha the King naturally asks,—what about the chariot ? Mātali's reply according to Rāghava Bhatta and Abhirāma is **संयन्त्रितो मया रथः:.** a reply far superior-**समययंत्रित एवायमास्त रथ**

There are also a number of places where - it is now one version and again another that furnishes the most poetical reading. But this. Paper is already too long. And the instances examined here (and in the Notes), have been deliberately selected with a view to dramatic rather than merely poetical beauty, and to exhibit the method here employed in various aspects. I am aware that

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all the conclusions here advocated are not likely to be viewed with equal favour.

Nor are they all either of equal certainty or of equal importance. Some arguments and points of view appeal far more to some minds than to others. What I have to urge above all is that the method itself is of great range and elasticity, and although when taken by itself- it some times yields different results to different minds, in the case of the Sakuntalā at any rate it is our only resource for reducing and transforming our diverse versions into a single play illuminated from end to end by the perfect art of genius.

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NOTES.

1.

I have used the following editions: For the Bengali version

(1) R, Pischel: Kālidāsa's Sakuntalā. The Bengali Rescension. Kiel, 1877.

(2) Krishṇanātha Nyāyapañcānana Bhattācārya: **अभिद्न्यान्शकुन्तलम्। कलिकाता...वि. सं..** १९२६ For the Southern version

(3) Sri Vāṇi Vilās Press : Abhijnāna Sakuntalam. With the commentary of Abhirāma. Srirangam. No date but recent, published as No, 13 of the Sri Vâni Vilās Sanskrit Series. An excellent edition.

(4) H. H. Rāma Varmā of Cochin and K. Ramapishāraka : Abhignāna Sakuntalā. With a New and Exhaustive Commenta- tary. Trichur, 1913.

(5) T. Foulkes : Kālidása ; A complete collection of the Various Readings of the Vadras Mss. (Vol. II and III give the sakuntalā readings). Madras, 1904. For the Kāśmīrī version ;

(6) K. Burkhard : Die Kacmirer Sakuntala-Handschrift, Wien, 1884..For the Devanāgarī version

(7) M. R. Kale : The Abhijnāna Sakuntalā of Kālidāsa with the Artha-dyotanikā of Rāghava Bhatta, 4th Ed. Bombay,

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1913.

(8) N. B. Godbole and K, P. Parab: The Abhijnāna Sakuntalā with the Arthadyotanikā of Rāghava Bhatta. 3rd Ed. Bombay, 1891.

These two are merely the usual " annotated ” edition for students reading for examinations. Their main recommendation is thfit they print more or iess carelessly large portions of Rāghava Bhatta's commentary.

A critical edition of this commentary based on the oldest manuscripts is a desideratum,

(o) I. Vidyāsāgara : Abhijnāna Sakuntala by Kálidāsa, 2nd Ed. Calcutta, 1878.

(10) Monier Williams: Sakuntalā by Kālidása. 2nd Ed. Oxford, 1876.

(11) P. N. Patankar: The Abhijnāna Sakuntalā of Kalidāsa. The purer Devanāgarī text. 2nd Ed, Poona, 1992.

(12) S. Ray: Kālidāsa's Abhijnana-Sakurtalam, with an original Sanskrit commentary. 3rd Ed, Calcutta, 1917.

The last three are really eclectic, Patankar and S. Ray, a little more than Monier Williams. Each of the three has distinctive merits, but S. Ray's is, on the whole, the best edition of the play for the general reader.

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(13) Carl Cappeller: Kālidasa's Sakuntalä (Kürzere Textform). Leipzig 1909.

This I have studied while revising this Paper for publication. The veteran scholar says (Einleitung p. vi), -"With regard to the various readings I have always been and still am of opinion that we have to follow an ECLECTIC method in choosing them, i.e. that we may take that which to us appears correct from wheresoever we find it, without tying ourselves down to any of the so-called rescensions. It is in fact doubtful whether it was at all soand or even to the purpose to label the various textforms of our Drama handed down to us as so many RESCENSIONS : this, I think, has made the problem only the more complicate and confused."

I began studying the Play critically from about 1905; and I collected all the four so-called rescensions and began a comparative study from 1915. As my knowledge of the variations increased, I was gradually forced to the conviction that until we are so lucky as to discover a good manuscript or manuscripts demonstrably earlier than the tenth century, it is impossible for a conscientious scholar with an aesthetic sense to proceed on any other method than the one I have tried to set forth and illustrate in this paper.

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A word of acknowledgment is due to the friends who allowed me to keep their copies of some of the rarer of the above books for months at a stretch

2.

Our catalogues record a large number of Sakuntalā manuscripts, many of them undated. It is not improbable that expert scrutiny might disclose amongst them one or more which are older by a century or more than those few of which competent scholars have noted the actual or approximate dates. In this brief note I can only mention a few of the oldest of these dated manuscripts; in every case I have converted the date into A, D.

(1) No. 193 of the Bombay Government Collection of 1875-1876 now at the Bhand. O. R. Inst., Poona. Date 1531-2. [Consolidated Cat, of Deccan Coll. Mss., 1888, P. 83.)

(2) Rājendra Lal Mitra's No. 1274 now at the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library. Date: 1570-1.

[R. L. Mitra's Notices of S. Mss., Vol. III, p. 300.)

(3) Stein ; now in the Maharājā Kāśmir's Raghunath Temple Library, Date: 1633-4. [Stein's Cat, of S. Mss. at Jammu, p. 77.)

This if giving the Kāśmiri version should be collated with K.

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Burkhard, mentioned in the preceding note, and here again as No. 7.

(4) India Office No. 2238 c. This is Bohtling's Ms. G. Date: About 1650. [Eggeling VII p. 1575.) (5) No. 521 of the Bom. Govt. Collection of

1887-91 now at the Bhand. O. R. Ins., Poona. Date: 1664.

[Bhandarkar's Report, 1897, p. 37.) (6) Ind, Office No. 1060. This is Pischel's Ms. S. Date: about 1671.

[Eggeling, VII, p. 1576.] (7) No. 192 of the Bomb. Govt. Collection of 1875-6, now at the Bhand. O. R. Inst., Poona.

This is the Ms, which Burkhard has printed as the Kāśmīrī Recension. Latest probable date 1676.

[Consolidated Cat. of Deccan College Mss., 1888, p. 83.]

(8) Leipzic No. 479. Date: the first 21 folios about 1740 the rest about 1690.

(Aufrecht, Leipzic Kat., p. 194.] (9) Ind. Office No. 2696. This is Bohtlingk's Ms, M. Date: about 1700.

[Eggeling, VII, P.1 575.] (10, 11). Tanjore. Two mss. About 1700.

[Burnell, p. 173.] (12) Oxford, Bodleian. Date: 1710.

[Aufrecht, p. 135.) (13)No, 409 of Bomb. Govt. Collection of 1884 7; now at the Bhand. O. R. Inst., Poona. 1741-42.

[Bhandarkar, p. 53.] 14, 15). Tanjore, Two mss. [Burnell p. 173] About 1750.

(16) Buhler Cat, (1872) of Mss. in private possession in Gujrat,

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Kathiawad, etc. Date: 1750-1.

[Buhler's Report, pp. 124-5.] (17, 18). Oppert, South India Mss. Nos. 1598 and 1599 About 500 and 400 years old

[Oppert. Vol I. PP. 142-3.] (19, 20). Ibid-Nos. 2959 and 2960. About 400 and 350 years old.

[Ibid pp. 156-7.] But Oppert says about the entries in his Age column that they are merely Pandits' guesses, " which have not been altered even where evidently incorrect."

See also note 7 post

3.

Two peculiarities of Kálidāsa's art may be noted here. (1) Each of his Acts consists of several scenes, and (2) the great majority of these scenes present moving pictures rather than conversation between two or more seated persons. Thus,

Act I, Sc. i. The Hunt. Ends as the King enters the hermitage.

Sc. ii. The King and the Maidens. Even after these take their seats under the tree, Sakuntala starts off in a pique and Priyamvadā brings her back by force.

Act II, Sc. i. The Vidūshaka and the King standing. The Senāpati enters and leaves. Sc. ii. The two seated. Th• young hermits enter and leave. The camel-rider enters and leaves,

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Act III. Sc. i. The lovesick king moving on to the Bower.

Sc. ii. The meeting. The friends leave. Śakuntală gets up and - wants to leave Gautami's approach. The King goes into hiding. reappearing when the coast is clear.

Act IV. Sc. i. The foreground of the here. mitage. The Sishya. Anasāyā enters and he withdraws. Priyamvadā enters and both leave.

Sc. ii. Sakuntală seated. The old tāpasīs leave. The young hermits enter and leave. Kāśyapa enters. All perambu late the fire.

Sc. iii. Sakuntalā proceeds from the her mitage to the end of the उपवन.

Act V. Sc. i. The king's loss of memory. The Vidüshaka leaves. Kañcuki enters and leaves. The king proceeds to the Agniśarana. Sc. ii. Sakuntalá repulsed. The party arrive. All remain standing. The Sishyas leave. Sakuntalā follows. Is driven back. Leaves again with the Purohita. The Purohita re-enters.

Act VI. Sc. i. The Pramadavana. The girls plucking the mango blossom, The Kañcuki enters. Drives them off and tho King and the Vidāshaka enter.

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Sc. ii. The Pramadavana bower. One maid sent with a message to the Minister. Another brings the picture. She goes again to fetch painting materials and returns without them. The Queen"almost enters. The picture sent off with the Vidūshaka. The first maid brings the Minister's memo. Sent back with orders. Returns. The king swoons. Sent again to bring the Vidāshaka back. Returns to report him in danger. The king leaves the bower.

Sc. iii. The Megha praticchanda terrace.

Act VII. Sc. i. The descent to Máricās. rama.

Sc. ii, Sarvadamana and the lion cub.

Sc, iii. The Marica interview.

Many modern readers altogether out of sympathy with the exalted-indeed unimaginable-powers attributed to the "parents of Indra" find this last scene too long and verbose. Another reason of their dissatisfaction with it may well be that here Kálidāsa deliberately reduced the movement to which he has accustomed os throughout the play to a minimum, though even here there is just a touch of it; a sishya is called enters and is despatched on a purely ceremonial errand to Kāśyapa, Roby Datta in his English translation entitled Sakuntala and hey Keepsake (Calcutta 1915) reaks up some of the Acts into a

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larger number of scenes than I have given here. Such over. analysis has its drawbacks, nor does it yield any compensating advantage. A modern stagemanager handling this play does not need any one to instruct him how to employ the far greater resources of modern civilisation to set off Kālidāsa's creation—a series of sculpturesquely moulded figures moving gracefully against a back-ground glowing with all the variegated tints of romance.

4.

It may be that the Bengali rearrangement with its two additions (vis. Kañcuki's extra verse, the Vidūshaka's extra speech) came into existence when the science of dramatic technique came to have an authority it did not possess in Kā lidāsa's day. For Kālidāsa's independance in matters of grammar, language and style see S. Ray: introduction, pp. 10-15.

5.

The Arthaśāstra divides the King's day into forenoon and afternoon subdividing each again into four parts and assigning appropriate functions to each of them. According to this scheme the incidents of this Act fall in the third quarter of the forenoon, during which the King is to be in the Antahpura taking his bath, meal, Test, attending to his swadhyāya, etc. According to Manu (VII 216-221) this period of comparative

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rest would be nearer the middle of the day and the Kañcuki's expression.

रविप्रतप्तः शीतं दिवा स्थानमिव द्विपेन्द्रः-- and similar expressions used by the Vaitālika and the King himself, make it almost certain that Kálidāsa has placed the beginning of this Act much nearer to midday than the Arthasastra scheme would allow. But from the point of view of our play the difference is not material. The speeches of the Kañcuki and the Purohita in both the versions here compared make it perfectly plain that the King was about to withdraw from the public gaze and from his public duties for the customary midday interval, when this new call of duty comes, and he attends to it at once.

6.

Compare Cāṇākya Arthaśāstra I Ch. 19–

तस्माद्देवताश्रमपाषण्डश्रोत्रियपशुपुण्यस्थानानां क्रमेण कार्याणि पश्येत् ।
कार्यगौरवादात्ययिकवशेन अग्न्यागारगतः कार्ये पच्छेद्वैतपस्विनां |
पुरोहिताचार्यसखः प्रत्युत्थायामिवाद्य च ||....

R. Samasastri in his translation (p. 43) omits the words **आश्रम and प्रत्युत्थाय** therefore printed by me in black type in the above quotation.

There are some close correspondences between passages of the Arthasāstra and of this play. Samasastri and Fleet have pointed

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out one of these : that between the verse **मेदच्छेद** (Act II) and the following in the Arthaśāstra VIII 3:

मृगयायां तु व्यायामः श्लेष्मपित्तमेदस्वेदनाशश्चले स्थिरे च काये लक्षपरिचयः कोपस्थाने हि तेषु च मृ. गाणां चित्तज्ञान मनित्ययानं चेति।

7.

S. Ray' assails the Bengali version of this passage in detail and riddles it through and through, see pp. 258-271. He also notes that one of the interpolated verses is quoted as Kālidāsa's in the Sāhitya Darpaṇa (composed in Eastern Bengal about 1450 A. D.-Macdonell, p. 434; "one manuscript of it is dated 1504 A.D.."Monier Williams, P. vii) and that **हृदयस्य निगड मिव मे (** **in the Arya**माणिबन्धात०)is ascribed to Kālidāsa by Vardhamāna (author of the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi 1140 A.D.-Macdonell, p. 431). And in Act IV he notes another Bengali reading (**शिथिलानुबन्धम् in the verse उत्पक्ष्मणो०**) to have been reproduced in a work of the IIth century (p. 353). Thus some of the pecularities of the Bengali version are old. Nor is any of the extant commentators of our play older in date than the Kávya prakāśa of Mammata and Alata who flourished about 1100 A.D. (Macdonell, p. 434.) Hence mere textual criticism cannot help us in deciding between the versions until we are so exceptionally lucky as to discover a good manuscript of the play older than the 11th or 10th century.

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8

In the Kasmiri the speech is simply (**नेपथ्ये) अय्या गोदमी**.In the Bengali, Pischel has **चक्कवाअवहु आमन्तेहि सहचरं । उवत्थिदा रअणी ।** Candrasekhara's Chāyā is **वधूरामन्त्रयति०,** which seems to stand for another reading vir **आमन्तेदि,** noted by Pischel as the reading of three of his authorities. Krišṇanātha has of as the first word of the second sentence, which also Pischel notes as the reading of two of his authorities.

9.

Some of the interpolations are obvious at the first glance. I just note here four instances :

(1) Act III, between the speech **सहि पुच्छीदव्वा सि किं पि**and Sakuntala's reply **हलाभण जे वत्तुकामा सि,** the Bengali has

राजा-बकव्यमेव । शशिकर०

(2) Act III, a little later, the King is given an additional verse after **अयं स ते०, vir.**

अयं स यस्मात्०, a mere paraphase.

(3) Act IV, after **अभिजनवतो** the Kasmir

Dolce Go gle

version and Chezy have **अपि च इदमवधारय** (Chezy omitting the last two words)

यदाशरीरस्य.

(4) Act VI, between aate **चतुशरच्छ निवेशिता**: and the

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Vidushaka's broad joke **चिट्ठदाव । इमिणा दण्डकट्ठ्ण,** the Bengali has theverse **उपहितस्मृति**

I may quote here S. Ray's brief account of how additions and changes in an old text arise. " (1) An idea strikes (the reader) when reading through a passage and vanity prompts the reader to versify and incorporate it with the text. (2) A passage seems obscure. Unwilling to leave it obscure when reading (it) with his pupils, the professor notes down in the margin an emendation which in course of time as the manuscript passes (down) from generation to generation is taken by a copyist as belonging to the poet's original. (3) A few letters somehow or other have become illegible. A guess is hazarded, which in course of time passes as the text. Pandits are Pandits all over India and....it is unfair to the other Recensions to suppose that the Devanāgarī is the only reliable one.... Indeed, no single recension is pure.... Laborious sifting and comparison alone will yield the correct text. The portion common to all the three recensions may be safely taken as genuine...." (Preface pp. iii to v).

10.

The Kāśmirī, too, gives this speech. It also just mentions the **माधविलता.** It transposes the **वातेरित पल्लवांगलि.and अतिपिनद्धेन** speeches, and has some interesting stage directions. If the untimely flowering incident is to be omitted and yet this **उदकं**

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लम्भिता speech is to be retained, the Kāśmīrī arrangement of the speeches and verses might possibly be more suitable than the Devanagari ; but not at all otherwise. Both the Bengali and Kāśmīrī texts are richer in stage directions throughout the play and some of these deserve to be adopted in every edition,

11.

Pischel does not include **कठिनमपि. or लोला दृष्टि** in his text, though some of his authorities give them but Krishnanātha gives all four.

12.

Act VI Sc. ii (see note 3 ante) cannot be called a bifocal scene in the sense in which the expression is used above, for the audience cannot feel the same degree of interest in the Apsaras as in the King. Yet even there no two speeches of the Apsaras are separated by such a long interval. The two longest intervals there will be found to be eleven speeches and thirteen speeches and even in these two cases the author has ingeniously made amends by giving to the Apsaras two or three short speeches in quick succession both before and after each long interval. In fact he has thus beautifully varied the structure of this scene from that, as if in order to make it plain to the meanest understanding that while the scene in Act I was a bi-focal scene in the fullest sense, this was not to be placed quite in the same

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category.

Another detail of Kālidāsa's art may also be noted here. At the end of Act V the audience only hear about Sakuntalā's ascent. Here they see Sānumatí descending and hear about Mātali's descent. Thus their minds are fully prepared for the marvellous descent of the Kiug iu Indra's chariot at the beginning of Act VII.

13

Perhaps the worst instance of this is the King's verse in the Bengali version describing his own half-finished picture as soon as it is brought in in Act VI-

राजा-(विलोक्य) अहो रूपमालेख्यस्य। तथा हि दीर्घापांग.

And Krishnanátha and Chezy have also another verse descriptive of the same soon after, **अस्यास्तुंग**

14.

S. Ray gives both **न तिर्यग०**and **मय्येव०** but holds one of the verses to be an interpolation and urges that the first of the two must be genuine. He brings up all possible arguments against **मय्येव०**, although he has to admit that it is quoted as Kālidāsa's in a work of the eleventh century (pp. 424-6). So let me urge still another point o' view. Either **नतिर्यग** mois genuine and **मय्येव** an interpolation or the latter is genuine and the former an

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interpolation. So far he and I are agreed though on widely different grounds. I hold further that no interpolator in his senses would follow up**नतिर्यग०** with**मय्येव०**. while the other alternative is at least conceivable. This is a reason in addition to those noted above in favour of my decision and against Ray's. But indeed this knotty passage is an illustration of the difficulties inherent in internal or aesthetic criticism-difficulties always to be borne in mind although for good and sufficient reasons we resolve to employ it as our final resource. For another illustration of the difficulties as they appear when the passage dealt with is longer, see section 5 (3).

15.

In the Bengali version a little before the Ki g's question to which the above speech is the Pratīhārī's reply, we have **(नेपथ्य) एदु भट्टिणी** The Devanagari omits this nepathya speech; an omission due to the fact that after all the Queen does not come into the scene. Possibly there is not another instance in the entire Sanskrit drama of an announcement not followed up by an actual entryPer contra, however, consider this question. Would the King send away the picture unless and until the Queen was almost within sight? I therefore hold that this nēpathya speech should be retained.

16,

Durjaya is a proper name, see Act VI end.

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17

Here is Burkhard's chāyā :

अविषयगमनं कञ्चनान्यं च सरागं आलिं (2) मधुसमयः।
अन्यं करोति विषण्णं पातल्यास्याः भूम्याः ॥

The question-mark in both original and chāyā is Burkhard's.

18.

Down to the present day in many parts of India on the celebration of marriage the bride goes to the bridegroom's family and stays there only for a short period. She returns to her parents and makes a long stay. Then she goesagain, and this time her departure is final. On this occassion her parents and other relatives and friends make her valuable presents, which along with the presents she received at the marriage both from these and from the bridegroom and his relatives and friends, are her Stri Dhanam..

19.

For an opposite judgment see S. Ray, p. 39.

20.

Act VI-See the verse **एकैकमत्र०**, See also same Act, the King's first speech after he and the Vidūshaka take their seats in the Madhavī bower. The Kasmirl reading is the best; it runs

राजा-(स्मरणमाभनीय) सखे माधव्य सर्वमिदं स्मरामि शकुन्तलायाः प्रथमदर्शनवृत्तान्ते यत्कथितवानस्मि भवते। सभवान्प्रत्यादेश दिवसे मत्समपिगतो नासीत्। प्रथममपि न त्वया कदाचित्संकथासु तत्रभवत्याः कीर्तितं नाम। न खलु अहमिव मिथः संविदं स्म तोऽसि।

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This passage would repay detailed study. The King has just been reminded that he had ordered his picture to be brought to this bower. So he comes here but he is thinking of the picture and the time to which it refers—the very first meeting. **सर्वमिदं** in the first sentence is. all this. " Which (also) I did tell you." In the third sentence **प्रथमपि** means before the **प्रत्यादेश** mentioned in the second sentence. Between my return from the hermitage and my rejection of her, we had, the king says, many: **संकथा's**. You never mentioned her in any of them. Thus the curse began to operate even before the King reached his capital; in fact, from the moment that it was uttered in the morning, while he was hurrying across the forest in his chariot ; otherwise, of course, he would have told Vidüshaka all at their very first meeting. The last sentence means—I did not remember our mutual agreement-our gändharva marriage, and my promise to send for her the inoment I had reached the capital Nor did you. Of course Vidüshaka could not remember what he was never told. This the King overlooks; a very natural oversight. Vidūshaka also in his reply overlooks this last sentence and addresses himself to the first three. His defence is--you did tell me but at the end etc. In other words if on your return you had only inentioned her....but you did not and I bad thus no reason whatever to reconsider your last words on the subject, your parting injunction uttered so gravely and impressively, at the end of Act II. If this fourth sentence of the King's speech is thought too obscure for Kālidása, or if it is thought that the dramatic स्वभवोक्ति of it is not in Kálidāsa's manner, the Bengali कच्चिदहमिव विस्मतस्त्वमपि may be

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substituted for it. But the Devanagari कच्चिद् हमिव विस्मतवानसि त्वम looks like an imitation' of the **कथितवनास्मि** of the first sentence.

The point of special importance for the discussion in the text above is even before the King reached his capital and saw Vidőshaka, the curse had fallen, the King's forgetfulness had begun.

21.

Compare the ancientस्मृतिकार बृहस्पति's verse quoted by गदाधर दीक्षितin his भाष्य on the पारस्कर गुह्यसुत्र.S. चतुर्थे मासि षष्टे वाप्यष्टमे गाभणी यदा। यात्रा नित्यं विवा स्यादाषाढे तु विशेषतः ॥

Also quoted निर्णयसिन्धु III in the chapter on गभिणीतत्पतिधर्माः

22 .

S, Ray gives all the verses in the order of the Bengali version but suspects the first two to be interpolations. See pp. 301-2, also his preface p. iv.

23

The**अद्भुत**here is not **thेस्त्रीसंस्थानं ज्योतिः**lifting

Up Sakuntalā and carrying her off. That is not shown on the stage, it is only reported ; and things reported, however wonderful, produce far less effect than things shown. Moreover, this marvel takes place only at the end of the Act. The far greater marvel shown continuously on the stage throughout the Act is the curse in actual operation: the forgetfulness of the King regarding one single person and all connected with her, which Kālidāsa shows to be both absolute

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and at the same time altogether unintelligible to the King, the hermitage party and at last even to the Purohita. The Hansapadikā song throws out a suggestion as broad as can be imagined. It is lost upon the King. The Hermitage party are reported. The Kancuki says **सस्त्रीकाः.** The party arrive composed of persons every one of whom the King must have seen almost daily during his stay at the Asramı. He does not recognise any of them either by sight or by their voices. Sakuntalā herself takes off her veil and addresses him and reminds him of their hours together. No effect whatever. Not the remotest chord of memory is touched. The King in his own words appears to be alluding to Menakā as a **परभृता**, to her desertion of her child प्रागन्तरिक्षगमनात्,and to an **अन्यद्विज** rearing it. The whole story of the peculiar circumstances of Sakuntalā's birth and upbringing is there in these words. Every member of the Hermitage party must take the allusion to be intended, it is so pointed, but the speaker himself is altogether unconscious of it. They naturally take it as a gross and deliberate insult; and yet it is this king, this man, who is so brazen, they think, as to charge them with insulting him !. And all the while the King is totally unconscious that they could have any real ground for anger and complaint. It is an extraordinary blend of करून This **अद्भुत** noble Act reveals more and more beauty the more it is looked at fron various points of view. I will here mention only two.

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I. Both the parties in conflict are equally in the right. A clash of two wrongs, of a greater wrong and lesser, or of a greater right and a lesser, is the familar theme of the drama(and its sister the novel) in all ages and climes. But the presentation of a clash of two equal rights is extremely rare. The poet who attempts it has not only imagination but also audacity. And it is because of the absolute conviction of each party that he is in the right, that the King on the one hand and Sarngarava on the other is equally prepared to concede the supposition that the other may be in the right, though only for the sake of argument.

II. Many suppose that the poet has differentiated between the characters of Sirngarava and Säradvata. There is a difference, but the nature of it deserves careful examination garava as head of the Hermitage party identifies himself with the cause of Sakuntalā and behaves like a partisan concerned, as also does the King. These two opposed partisans are however conscious that they are after all partisans and conceding the truth that a man however impartial is not a good judge in his own cause, they accept the decision of persons more impartial than themselves, viz. Sáradvata and Somarāta. It is extraordinary that this pecuJarity of Kálidāsa's structure should have remained unnoticed.

It may be noted here that the अद्भुत of re semblance and difference between the अद्भुत of Sanskrit aesthetics on the one

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hand, and the Sublime and the Romantic of Western aesthetics on the other, deserve and will well repay examination. I may venture to draw the attention of competent Sanskrit scholars who are also interested in the philosophy of aesthetics, like Professor M. Hirayana for instance to this line of investigation.

24.

What is the meaning-it mar be asked-of this distinction between the plot on the one hand, the plot by itself, and the entire play as an organic whole on the other? If an incident is a turning point in the plot as such, how can it be anything different in the play as a whole ? The answer would involve a long argument in aesthetic philosophy, which I need not enter upon, since the curious reader will find it fully set forth in a masterly manner in the first lecture" Poetry for Poetry's sake"-of A. C. Bradley's well-known Oxford Lectures on Poetry.

25

Roby Datta agrees with this, for he places an interval of a few days between the end of Act II and the short Vishkambhaka to Act III (OP. cit. p. 46). But he is wrong in inferring an interval of a few months between the end of Act III and the curse Vishkambhaka preceding Act N (p. 74). It is from Act IV that this interval of a few months separates the Durvāsas or curse Vishkambhaka. He assigns a day and a half for Sakuntalā's journey from the hermitage to the capital (p. 92). This also I

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cannot accept. Kalidasa says explicitly twice that the distance from the capital to the hermitage took more than one whole day to cover by the fleetest modes of travelling known to his day or assignable to Dushyanta's day, viz. camelriding and the King himself travelling in his chariot. (1) Karabhaka (Act II) reproduces the words of the Dowager Queen-**"आआमिणि चउत्थ दिअहे "** He was despatched to the King's hunting camp in good time for him to reach it and for the King to return to the capital posthaste. (2) The king's promise to Sakuntalá **एकैक** (Act VI)-also contemplates the most expeditious travelling both ways. It follows that the hermitage party taking Sakuntalā to the capital and travelling on foot at a moderate pace to suit Sakuntala's convenience, must have taken more days to accomplish the distance than Datta allows. The rest of his time analysis agrees with mine.

26,

Krishnanātha assigns two senses to **कल, पौरव, प्रजावन्ध्य, and अनार्यalso**. But this is not only unnecessary; it spoils the verse.

27.

I have brought the time analysis of the play down to the end of Act V and shown that the story is continuous upto the day of the curse and then there is a break of less than seven months. Sakuntalā's farewell to the Hermitage (Act IV) and her

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rejection (Act V) are again continuous. At the end of Act V there is another break. The length of this turns upon one single circumstance; our estimate of the age of HEET in Act VII. Kālidāsa does not give any precise indication of it beyond the statement that the child is not too old for Śakuntalā to lift up and carry, preferring to leave all else to our imagination. For the story goes on continuously again from the discovery of the ring to the end.

28.

The Kaśmiri reads **चिन्तिद.** This first adjective in either form not to be found in the Devanāgari and Southern versions. **अवलाम्बणो** in Burkhard must be a slip in the Ms, or a misprint.

29.

Not to be found in the Devanāgari and Southern versions.

30.

The KásmĪrĪ reads **वअस्सो** The Devanagari and Southern also. And these have another variant, अलन्करेदु.

31.

The Kāśmiri has instead of this stage direction another **सख्या सहोप्विष्टा**, which is better. The DevanāgarĪ and Southern versions also omit the first sentence of this speech.

32.

The Kāśmiri variants in the verse are not of any importance.

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33.

In the last Act, after Dushyanta, Sakuntalā and Bharata are admitted into the presence of Máricha and Aditi, the Devanagari Káśmiri and Southern versions assign a speech to Sakuntalā :- **दारअसहिदा वो पाद्वन्दनं करेमि** The Bengali version has instead only a stage direction- **शकुन्तला पुत्रसहिता पादयो : पतति.** Both come to the same thing, for the speech would be accompanied by the appropriate act, and on the other hand the act done in silence would be equivalent to the speech,

34.

For a similar reason प्राणानामनिलेन line 2, the Kasmiri version **तोये हैमसहस्रपत्रकपिशे** Is preferable.

35.

The Kāśmīrī gives only the second sentence phrased differently.

36.

I take महाजन to mean the largest of the political assemblies, the fundamental assembly of the State or of the capital. See D. R, Bhandarkar: Lectures-Ancient History of India, B.C. 650 to 325, (Calcutta 1919), p. 121. • Similarly in नैतचित्रं (Act II) I prefer the Bengali समितिषु सुरा: (adopted by Monier Williams and S. Ray) or the Kāśmīrī UTHIRTY:(adopted by Patankar) to the Devanāgarī and Southern सुरयुवतय :.R.C. Mujumdar, Corporate Life in India (Calcutta 1918), p. 52, commenting on

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the statement in the Arthashastra that the samiti of the gods consisted of one thousand members, aply remarks that " these fanciful statements about things divine must have their foundation in ” mundane facts of a similar nature, actual or remembered. I may add that this verse suggests that the selection of a commander-in-chief for a particular war or expedition to act under the general directions of the king and ministers must have been one of the functions of the samiti in the polity of some model states of Ancient India. See also D. R.Bhandarkar, Op. cit., last lecture, which gives a very good idea of the high stage of development these samitis had reached in Bu. ddha's day, a development which must necessarily have been the result of several centuries of progressive adaptation.

37.

Krishnanātha comments on समय—
समयेन संकेतविशेषेण यंत्रितः संकोचित एव। यत्रिक् संकोचन इति कविकल्पद्रुमः। अयं रथ आस्ते तिष्ठति न कदाचित्पदमपि चलताति भावः। समयः शपथाचारसिद्धान्तेषु तथा धियि। क्रियाकारे च निर्देशे संकेते कालभाषयो इति मेदिनी॥

॥ इति ॥

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